

ED 023 955

AC 002 639

Seminar on Comparative Studies in Adult Education (Ontario Institute For Studies in Education, April 10, 1968).

Ontario Inst. for Studies in Education, Toronto.

Pub Date Jun 68

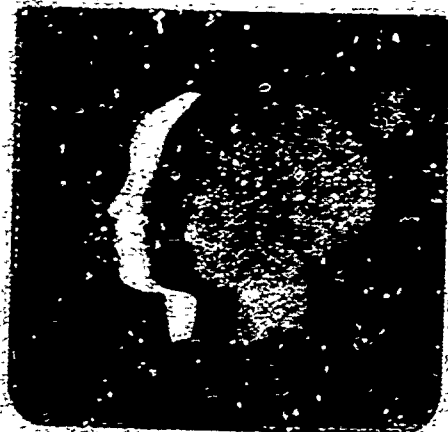
Note- 50p.

EDRS Price MF-\$0.25 HC-\$2.60

Descriptors- \*Adult Education, \*Comparative Education, Course Evaluation, Educational Theories, \*Graduate Study, International Organizations, \*Research Methodology, Systems Analysis

Parts of the four papers presented at the Seminar on Comparative Studies in Adult Education are included in this document, as well as summary notes on the meeting. The opening paper reviewed past comparative efforts and set forth the author's conception of priorities for future comparative studies. Another paper stressed the dialectic between practical and theoretical considerations and urged systematic quantification of data. The third speaker, unlike the second, looked to the behavioral sciences rather than simply to the field of education for theories and methodology (including systems analysis) for cross-cultural comparative research. In the last paper, the lack of international studies of participation, clear-cut institutional classifications, or even reliable and valid statistical data was discussed, together with student course evaluations relevant to graduate study in comparative adult education. The document includes a selected list of topics for cross-cultural and cross-national comparisons. (ly)

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## COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN ADULT EDUCATION

A Seminar held at

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

102 Bloor Street West

Toronto, Canada

April 10, 1968

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Department of Adult Education

Report of Seminar on

Comparative Studies in Adult Education

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## Foreword

One of the remarkable features of adult education is its international character. Despite enormous difficulties of distances, lack of money, lack of comparable data, language and political barriers, there is regular and valuable contact between educationists who work in at least 75 different countries. An informal network of associates exists whose members value the contact and invest time, and their own money, to maintain the communication links.

But what is sporadic and incomplete should become regular and systematic. Possibilities now exist for sharing ideas, materials and people. Will is needed, and some money - and much hard work in achieving some agreement about concepts and terms, collecting data in comparable ways and developing habits of exchange.

The first step is to explore the field. In other educational spheres arguments rage about whether comparative education should or should not be recognized as a legitimate field of study. No blood has been shed on this question as it affects adult education because this part of our field has not advanced far enough for such conflicts to develop. Meanwhile, some of us have become convinced that, call it what you will, there is much to be gained from comparative studies of the ways in which older youth and men and women learn. One International seminar on the subject has been held, and its Report, The Exeter Papers, will soon be available. At least two graduate courses are now offered in this field in Canada and the United States and more are being planned in several countries. It is an excellent time to achieve as much consensus as is possible about meanings, concepts and modes of carrying on comparative studies.

This report is about a short seminar in which some of the problems and questions were at least considered, though not solved. W. D. Halls and Donald Adams provided information and experience from their own comparative studies; J. R. Kidd and A. A. Liveright discussed possible applications of these questions to adult education and the whole seminar addressed themselves to some emerging problems.

Parts of the papers given are included as well as summary notes prepared by Len Oliver of the University of Chicago, who took part in the Seminar.

J. R. Kidd

Toronto, Canada  
June, 1968



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*Standing, from left to right :*

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J. Draper, C. Ashworth, H. Knoepfli, J. Ohliger, D. Adams, M. Sykes,  
M. Muinuddin, A. Charters, O. R. Porter, L. Shorey, A. Knowles, J. R. Kidd.

*Seated, from left to right :*

D. Ironside, R. Edwards, W. D. Halls, V. Stanius.

Seminar on Comparative Studies in Adult Education  
OISE April 10, 1968

SOME FACTORS AND CONSIDERATIONS RESPECTING METHODOLOGY  
FOR  
COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION

by

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Presented at the  
Seminar on Comparative Studies in Adult Education  
OISE April 10, 1968



6.

Some Factors and Considerations Respecting Methodology for  
Comparative Adult Education

April 10, 1968  
J. R. Kidd

Some activities that have facilitated exchange of experience and the collection of comparative data.

1. World Conferences in adult education

- a. 1929 London under the auspices of the then established World Association for Adult Education. Some working papers dealing with each country represented were prepared and a report of the Conference was published.

For about ten years the 'World Association' published reports and other papers.

- b. 1949 Elsinore under the auspices of Unesco. A working paper was prepared but the documentation was not very complete. A report of resolutions was prepared.
- c. 1960 Montreal under the auspices of Unesco. A number of working papers were prepared but these are extremely fragmentary. A report of recommendations was published.

2. Unesco

There has been a department concerned with adult education dating from 1947. In the first years the scope was limited but since 1962 the division has been concerned, and has had some part in, all phases of adult education whether in the Department of Education or elsewhere in the Unesco establishment. The Unesco Clearing House which now serves all purposes was originally a clearing house in 'fundamental adult education.'

There is now an International Advisory Committee on Out-of-school Education which has brought together three separate committees (adult education, literacy and youth). One meeting has been held, March 1968.

The Division is limited in numbers of staff and the staff members are lacking in experience of adult education. Publishing has been infrequent, there has been no organized research and the quarterly journal which was published for ten years was discontinued in 1966.

Despite the difficulties and limitations, Unesco does provide a means by which communication at the official level can be conducted.

Note: ILO has a special division for labour education. FAO and WHO have educational interests and the Economic and Social Council (UN) has a special concern with community development.

### 3. Regional Associations

Europe The European Bureau of Adult Education has conducted conferences, sponsored study tours and exchanges, and published reports and working papers for the past ten years. Adult educationists in 12 western European countries take part regularly in these activities.

The European Economic Community has commissioned and published a number of papers dealing with adult education and manpower problems.

Adult Educationists in Eastern Europe have been meeting yearly for conferences and for exchange of experience.

Africa The East and Central African Adult Education Association was formed in 1964 and has held four conferences and associated seminars. The Association publishes a journal (Pergamon Press). At its last meeting the Association changed its name to African Adult Education Association.

South East Asia The Asian South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education was formed in 1964 and has been able to arrange conferences or seminars annually. It publishes the ASPBAE Journal.

South America A regional organization for adult education in Latin American countries was formed in 1966. There is little publication yet but the organizing secretary, Dr. F. Adam informs us that a journal will be published.

North America One regional conference has been held and the possibilities of additional exchanges of various kinds are now being explored.

### 4. "Functional Associations"

Labour The three international labour organizations each have an adult education program. One of them, ICFTU sponsored a 'world conference on labour education and a labour film festival in Montreal in 1967.

The International WEA has been in existence since the thirties, holds annual seminars and conferences and publishes a journal.

Co-operatives The International Co-operative Alliance has carried on an educational program, and maintained relations around consumer education for at least two decades.

Teachers The World Confederation of the Organizations of the Teaching Profession established an Adult Education Committee in 1959 and this Committee has met annually ever since, publishing material on literacy, preparation of teachers, education permanente, etc.

University The International Congress of University Adult Education was organized in 1960 and has held seminars and meetings annually ever since. A world conference was held in Denmark in 1965 (working papers and a report) and the Congress publishes a journal and Occasional Papers.

YMCA - YWCA Groups like the YMCA operate international and hold conferences and prepare materials dealing with the special interests of these organizations.

## 5. Planning and Research organizations

OECD There is now a considerable volume of research and development under OECD of direct bearing on adult education. However, OECD is not yet organized to keep this field under systematic review.

International Institute for Educational Planning Same comment as OECD.

### Some specific projects in comparative adult education

#### a. Conferences on specific topics

From time to time Unesco has organized conferences on specific problems or subjects around which comparative data were collected. Examples: libraries and adult education (1954) and several conferences on literacy. Unesco has also organized many regional conferences: examples: education of women in Africa, the mass media in education in Asia. Working papers prepared for these conferences provide some data for comparative study.

#### b. Unesco publications

Two directories on adult education have been published by Unesco giving some comparative data on adult education in member countries. Neither is very satisfactory but the limitations and gaps in these directories emphasize present problems of collecting meaningful data.

Several Unesco publications have been organized to provide some comparative data. Examples: the publication on University Extension (England, United States, Canada) in 1951 and the publication on Educational Television (Japan, Canada, Czechoslovakia) in 1966.

Considerable data useful for comparisons have been collected for the World Literacy Campaign, and have been published.

#### c. Lectures on comparative education

For a number of years isolated lectures, or small units of comparative adult education have been offered in courses in adult education in Yugoslavia, India, at the University of Manchester, and in Canadian and American universities.

d. International Conference on the Comparative Study of Adult Education held at Exeter in 1966. The Exeter Papers will soon be published.

e. Graduate Courses

The first graduate course (Historical and Comparative Perspectives in Adult Education) was given at OISE in 1967. The first Graduate course in Comparative Adult Education was given at Boston University in 1968.

Some of the Methods that have been applied to comparative study of adult education.

1. Historical Studies of origins and developments in adult education seem of such obvious value that one need not argue for inclusion. However, there are those who maintain that the value of comparing historical materials is very much over-rated. Perhaps of much greater concern is the paucity of adequate historical material in adult education. England has produced at least two admirable historical works, (Harrison and Kelly) and many papers; neither Canada nor the United States are very well off in this respect despite a number of publications on specific fields or institutions. Material on other countries are even less adequate. Only two publications pretend to deal with developments around the world; Grattan: In quest of Knowledge, out of print since 1964, and Hely's essay "From Elsinore to Montreal."

In at least twenty or thirty countries there are writers interested in the history of adult education. It might be possible to obtain some agreement about the kind of approach that would be meaningful in each country as well as lead to some useful comparisons.

2. Adult Education seen in its cultural context It is probable that everyone interested in comparative studies will agree that the phenomenon, adult education, must be seen in context. Amen. But how is this to be done? How are we to organize material on countries and cultures against which adult education can be viewed. Much more thought must be given to this. The papers of Professor Halls and Professor Adams are useful to us on this point.

3. Multi-disciplinary studies Again, it is probable that most of us will give assent to the claim that the resources of many disciplines should be brought to the task of comparative studies. In practice, what does this mean?

4. Regional models In the Exeter Conference there was a stimulating attempt to utilize regional models or systems as the basis for comparing data and experience. Dr. Liveright will have more to say about this. In our experience in Course 1104 (OISE) we encountered considerable difficulty with this approach although there are some advantages. The regional model was often as misleading



as it was helpful. For example, while it is true that adult education in the West Indies and in Australia have both been markedly influenced from England, and might be seen as sub-divisions in an 'Anglic' system, the differences may be more marked than the similarities. Much more rigour will be required in the development of regional models or systems before they can be widely utilized.

5. Examination of specific subjects, problems or institutions At the present stage in development, the study of somewhat comparable data dealing with certain functions, institutions or problems is possible and may be rewarding. Examples of areas:

- post-secondary education in UK, United States, Canada, Yugoslavia, Australia, France, West Germany
- literacy (many countries)
- education of women in developed countries and selected developing countries
- educational technologies in relation to the organization and control of mass media (many countries)
- further education of teachers (Western Europe, eastern Europe and North America)
- manpower training and re-training (many countries)

In addition to making comparisons around these specific activities, it may be possible to infer from these studies some generalizations about adult education, or at least to derive questions and hypotheses for further research.

6. Exchange or blocks to exchange involving adult education institutions.

One of the more limited approaches with which we experimented in 1104 in 1967 was to look at adult education institutions that had been "exported". We noted that the WEA had been "successfully" transplanted in Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand but not in North America, that the folk high school had penetrated Western Europe but while it had markedly influenced North American adult education it had never been rooted as an institution, in North America; and activities like agricultural extension, farm radio forum, Sokol, have been successfully adopted in some countries and have failed to be adopted or adapted, in other cultures.

This led to some preliminary investigation of the reasons why a particular institution seemed well suited to its culture and epoch, and what are the



conditions for its penetration into other cultures. We also looked at the relative advantages of borrowed, as against indigenous institutions.

This mode of attack did obtain full involvement of all class members and seems to promise valuable insights if and when it is carried out with greater rigour and control.

In addition to the insights that may be obtained around these specific activities or problems, it may be possible to infer from these studies some generalizations about adult education or at least to derive questions and hypotheses for research.

7. Examination of the learner Some programs of comparative study have focussed not so much on systems or institutions or activities but upon the learner. Case materials, biographies and autobiographies have been used. Ernest Stabler, who is coming to OISE, has found this mode to be a useful complement to other means. Some experimentation with it will be attempted at OISE in 1968.
8. Systems Analysis Philip Coombs at IIEP has attempted, with his staff, to get at some meaningful comparisons of education through the comparative analysis of certain kinds of 'in puts'. Examples: the number of adult classes, libraries and library books, radio and television sets available, number of trained teachers, percentage spent on education of children as against education of their mothers, etc. His first effort was reported in a working paper given at a conference in Williamsburg and soon to be published as a book. At my request he is considering the extension of this form of analysis to other questions or categories.

While systems analysis is still in its infancy as a method, there may be some valuable outcomes.

9. Application of computers Most of us have been speculating about the possibilities of utilizing computers for the comparison of our experience and data. The problem, of course, is that the collection of data that might be compared is still so unsatisfactory that programming it for computers would probably lead to some unwarranted assurances and conclusions. However, the necessity and opportunity to process data for computer use might help us establish criteria and procedures for data collecting and analysis which would be valuable.

#### D. Some steps

1. It seems likely that within a relatively short time several more universities will be offering comparative courses in adult education. It may prove useful for those responsible to keep in touch, share outlines, bibliographies, experience and problems.

2. It is essential that we adopt, adapt and innovate methods that will yield the most satisfactory results. It will be important to have assessments of every course and conference on comparative adult education
3. Materials are needed. A fund for inexpensive publishing of materials would be valuable particularly in the next few years. Alternatively, materials useful for comparative adult education might be published through established sources; journals, monograph series, occasional papers, etc.
4. Strenuous efforts will be needed to obtain agreement on criteria and definition, and to persuade governments, universities and international agencies to collect systematically data on all phases of adult education.

## COMPARATIVE STUDIES AND ADULT EDUCATION

by

W. D. Halls

Dr. W. D. Halls is presently on sabbatical leave from Oxford University, where he is professor in charge of comparative education in the Department of Education. He is part-time Chairman of the Examining Board of the International Baccalaureat Office, a Geneva-based organisation that is using techniques of basic research to set up an internationally-valid university entrance examination. He is also Director of the Oxford Council of Europe Study for the Evaluation of Curriculum and Examinations in the academic secondary school.

Dr. Halls is the editor of a new series on European Curriculum Studies, the first two volumes of which are at present in the press. He is also the responsible editor of Comparative Education (Oxford).

Presented at the

Seminar on Comparative Studies in Adult Education

OISE

April 10, 1968

## COMPARATIVE STUDIES AND ADULT EDUCATION

Many of the courses in comparative education (more properly, comparative studies in education) that have proliferated in universities in recent years would be better described as studies in contemporary socio-cultural history or the contemporary history of ideas. A growing realisation of this has been in part responsible for the splintering off from comparative education itself of new courses designated as 'developmental education', which may be defined as the application of educational theories and practice to the less-advanced countries, and which have already proved of great practical worth. Yet another splinter group has been formed by those who profess courses designated as 'international education', which is understood to mean the study of international educational institutions and their work in promoting educational understanding between nations. Again, the practical value of such courses is immediately apparent. The result has been the 'residue' of comparative education, (of which a most recent definition has been that of 'a confrontation of different educational systems in order to delineate the differences and resemblances between their structures') has come in for some hard criticism on the grounds that it has nothing of practical value to offer the educator. One may agree with Lord Acton's dictum that 'our studies ought to be all but purposeless', yet hope from them that something of worth may emerge. One object of this paper, is, in fact, to demonstrate that comparative studies in education, even in the 'residual' sense, if properly conceived, do yield something of use. Why some have despaired of this is because the methodology of cross-cultural and cross-national comparisons is inherently difficult. This paper will therefore begin by discussing comparative methods in the abstract. It will then present two models, as propounded by a layman in the field of adult education, that may be helpful as illustrations of how the comparative method might be used in this field. It will conclude by offering a few specific suggestions as to procedure.

The first comparative educationists - the generation of 'enquirers' - such as Mann and Barnard in North America, Arnold<sup>1</sup> and Sadler in Britain, and Cousin in France, studied the educational systems of other countries with avowedly meliorist aims in view. They sought to use what they had learned on

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<sup>1</sup> cf. Paul Nash (ed.), Culture and the State: Mathew Arnold & Continental Education, Teachers College (Columbia) Press, 1966.

the Continent to improve the American university the English secondary school, or the French primary school. As men intimately concerned with the day-to-day administration and organisation of education, their studies of the foreign scene were empirical and practical: they sought to discern elsewhere principles and usages capable of domestic application. By contrast, the generation of comparative educationists that followed them were academics: Kandel, Ulich, Schneider and Hans sought to make theoretical systematizations of educational systems, to discover the Triebkräfte - 'determining forces' - that underlie them. As such they dealt with macro-factors and large abstractions. Their great merit was that they provided outline 'maps' of the field, a general framework within which to operate. But detail was lacking. About 1955, however, the climate of comparative studies began to change, and indeed to revert in part to the older tradition. Comparative education, it was held, might prove a useful instrument for educational reform. Thus there has been recently a revival of interest in smaller empirical studies. The purpose of such studies is not intrinsically normative - the only prescriptive statements in education are made by the politicians: - but they can at least point the way for the policy-makers.<sup>2</sup> It was hoped that comparative education, like other branches of the educational field, might delineate the means by which ends could be achieved and indicate the consequences of following one policy rather than another.

That such empirical studies have proved more difficult to bring to a successful conclusion than had been anticipated can be ascribed to the lack of a methodology. Since it is assumed that it is these empirical studies,

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The most successful of these studies to date has been that of the I.E.A. group. The first published results appeared in: Torsten Husén (ed.), An International Study of Achievement in Mathematics - A Comparison of Twelve Countries, 2 Vols., John Wiley, New York, 1967. This study used traditional methods of educational research in curriculum evaluation and measurement. A number of hypotheses were set up, and various 'input variables' were established. Very tentative conclusions concerning mathematical achievement in a number of countries were arrived at. It is interesting that the majority of the researchers involved were psychometricians, although some had strong international orientations. Their results have been criticized because they tended to equate in over-simplified fashion national educational systems, comparing what was not in fact comparable. Nevertheless, this study represents the most significant advance in the comparative study of an educational phenomenon in industrialised countries.



of practical application, that are of most interest to the specialist in adult education, some discussion of methods is therefore inevitable. Before considering these in detail, a few general strictures are essential. The first, which is put forward as an axiom, is that the comparativist cannot limit himself to a rigid theoretical framework, but must vary it constantly. Depending on the nature of the problem studied, and the stage that his investigations have reached, he must be eclectic both in theory and method: the large hypothesis originally formulated will constantly have to be whittled down and refined, the modus operandi changed to suit the circumstances.

Yet if no fixed, pre-determined method can be employed, there are guidelines that must be adhered to if a comparison is to be valid. Rosello<sup>3</sup> has stated them as follows:

- (a) The subject of the comparison: what is being compared must be defined with precision.
- (b) The extent of the comparison: the geographical and, where appropriate, the historical areas of comparison must be stated with great specificity.
- (c) The nature of the comparison: the educational facts being compared must be expressed with exactness, and related to relevant political, sociological and economic data.
- (d) The angle of the comparison: the comparison required may be situational ('static') showing as it were a snapshot in time, or indicative of trends ('dynamic'), showing as it were a three-dimensional motion picture.

If these criteria are adhered to the comparison that will emerge will be first descriptive, but ultimately explanatory and policy-influencing.

Second, the total and precise analysis of the factors involved must be accompanied by an attempt to quantify wherever possible. Quantitative studies, as in comparative sociology, have been the most difficult to accomplish. Yet vagueness and subjectivity, as exemplified in the indiscriminate use of words like 'few' and 'many', must be avoided like the plague. Nevertheless, the totality of analysis signifies that all kinds of evidence, including subjective

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Rosello, Difficultés inhérentes aux recherches en éducation comparée dynamique, International Review of Education, IX, 2, 1963-4., and P. Rosello, Concerning the structure of comparative education, Comparative Education Review (New York), October 1963, pp. 103-107.

evidence, must be taken into account. When, speaking of foreign schools, Sir Michael Sadler advanced the question: How far can we learn something of practical worth from the study of foreign educational systems? He answered it by declaring:

'.....we must not fix our gaze only upon the stones and mortar of the buildings, or only upon the teachers and pupils: we must also go out into the streets and into the homes of the people and try and find out what is the intangible, imperceptible spiritual strength which, in the case of a successful school system, really sustains the schools and is responsible for their practical effectiveness.'

2.

Thirdly, caution must be exercised in at least two respects. Lord Chesterfield said that the only person who did not suffer by translation was a bishop. Indeed, traddutore tradittore might well be the watchword of the comparative educationist. Not only must he be very careful in translating, but he must have very exact knowledge in order to interpret terminology: German Hochschule may be literally translated as 'high school', but in fact designates a para-university institution; German Höhere Schule means literally 'higher school', but is more akin to a 'high school' in the American sense. Another cautionary note must be struck in regard to statistics (of which it has been said: There are lies, damned lies, and statistics!). In particular, international educational statistics are probably as unreliable as the Bank of England's monthly statement of gold and dollar reserves.

Fourthly, - and probably most important - functional comparisons should not normally be attempted unless the phenomena to be compared are as similar as possible. This, in effect, would restrict such comparisons to countries at roughly the same stage of industrial and economic development. Such 'close' comparisons are desirable because the referent data can be matched as to dimension, cultural background and social significance. Once similarities have been identified, the immediate objective of the comparison is to pinpoint differences, which must then be explained in contextual or structural ways, or otherwise, depending on the circumstances. In such functional comparisons, however, care must be taken to avoid vague generalities as explanations, such as those in terms of so-called 'ethnic differences' or 'national character'.

Lastly, some amplification of the statement that such comparative studies are not normative is required. Comparisons are made so as to indicate

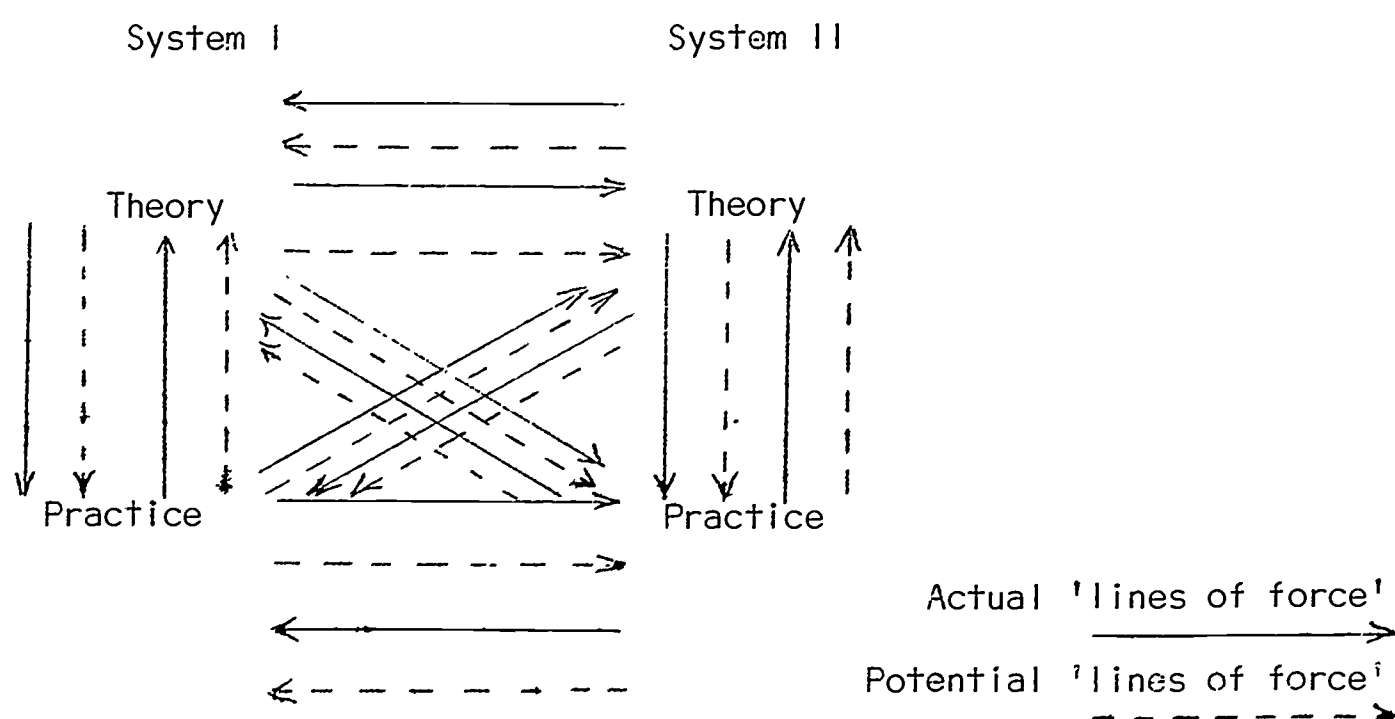
precisely the consequences that flow from the adoption of any set of alternatives. An example may clarify this. It concerns the science syllabuses of the top academic secondary level in Sweden and England. Analysis shows that in Sweden, under the new dispensation, two main themes, the nature of energy and atomic theory, are highlighted. By contrast, topics that still figure with some prominence in English programmes - such as head and sound - are only cursorily touched upon. In such a context the mission of the comparative educationist might be to indicate to policymakers in England the modifications that would ensue from a change of syllabuses to the Swedish pattern, in terms of general approach to the subject, number of lesson hours required, methodology, teacher training, etc. With such data at his command, based upon Swedish practice, the policymaker could effect the switch with a maximum of forward planning and a minimum of disruption. Granted that there is already much national cross-fertilization of curriculum data in this way, it is only the expert with detailed knowledge of both systems (and not just the expert in the physical sciences, although of course he is indispensable) who can sustain the comparison and recommend how changes can be implemented. This is perhaps to say no more than that the wholesale implantation of educational phenomena in an alien environment is an operation that must be carried out with great expertise. But the failure of the British to endow their former African possessions with educational systems appropriate to indigenous cultures exemplifies how little care has been devoted in the past to such transplantations.

With such general conditions in mind, we may now pass to the consideration of method. What relationship should method bear to theory? It has been rightly said that methodology is arid without practice. So, likewise, is theory. The fault of the first generation of 'academic' comparativists was that they attempted to theorize too rapidly. They examined whole education systems, and sought to distinguish underlying factors, rather than concentrating on a number of smaller phenomena common to two or three systems in order to make comparisons at the micro level. Yet advances in the natural sciences clearly demonstrate that theorizing is improved when one proceeds from the lesser to the greater generality, embodying in a new theoretical framework the methodological discoveries of one's predecessors. Andrews, a comparative sociologist, has gone on record as saying:<sup>4</sup>

'...the history of the natural sciences shows that no advances were made by people who tried to apply conceptual frameworks: the great discoverers were interested in how and why things happen, and in order to find out they had recourse to any helpful ideas or techniques which they knew. The conceptual frameworks of the sciences grew by accumulation and ordering of correct solutions of definite problems.'

In other words, to seek to 'force' frameworks of reference or to apply conceptual systems which patently do not fit the educational data would be nothing but a 'sterile logomachy'.

This dialectic of educational theory and practice is at the heart of the comparative method. Educational usages must ultimately be grounded on some theory of education, whether this is spelled out precisely or sub-consciously understood. A precedence of practice over theory might broadly be said to characterize the English educational system. Alternatively, educational theories may be formulated in abstracto, and then applied. This absolute formulation is not entirely true of any educational system but certainly the French have a tendency to proceed from first principles rather than empirically. The comparative educationist is interested in the interplay of theory and practice in two or more systems. The crude model which is given below may serve to illustrate the 'lines of force' that may actually or potentially (through the act of comparison) exist or be set up between two educational systems. (A three-dimensional model may of course also be constructed showing the interactions between three or more systems).





The comparativist is interested not only in the actual connexities that exist between systems, but also in the potential ones which he may help to realise. Not shown on the diagram above are of course the 'mediating agencies' between theory and practice. These can be very disparate, from formal institutions such as school boards to informal pressure groups such as public opinion. They may also establish direct 'lines of force' - connexities - between themselves and theory and practice in an exogamous system.

It has been pointed out that the only comparative method intrinsic to comparative education (although even so it leans heavily on other more firmly established comparative disciplines) is that elaborated by Hilker<sup>5</sup> and improved by Bereday.<sup>6</sup> The exposition that follows is an attempt to refine even further. It consists essentially of a four-stage exercise, which begins after initial hypotheses have been established. The first stage consists of the assembling of data; the description of these data must be more than expository: it must also be informative and exhaustive. It is followed by an 'interpretative' stage: this can be defined as the translation of data into terms that are appropriate to one's 'base system' - usually the educational system that one knows best, - and the discarding of data which, on further consideration, appear to be irrelevant to the hypotheses one intends to test. The third stage is the arrangement - the 'collocation' (or, to use Bereday's term, the 'juxtaposition') - of the material for comparison. The arrangement should ideally be classificatory,

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<sup>5</sup> F. Hilker, Vergleichende Pädagogik, Max Hüber-Verlag, München, 1962.

<sup>6</sup> Among the many significant writings of Prof. G. Bereday, must be cited: G. Z. F. Bereday, Comparative Methods in Education, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1964. This work has been to some extent updated by G.Z.F. Bereday, Reflections on Comparative Methodology in Education, 1964-1966, Comparative Education, (Oxford), Vol. 3, No. 3, June 1967, pp. 169-187.



so as to make easy the perception of regularities or irregularities. Any classification arrived at must have adequate categories and sub-categories.<sup>7</sup> These must also have an internal coherence, a logicality or 'connexity' which is in accordance with the objective of the comparison. The ultimate stage then consists of the simultaneous comparison proper: this is a balanced matching of the facts, their causes and effects in two or more countries, and finally, arriving at a conclusion which may consist of the sustaining of the initial hypotheses or the induction of some principle or 'law.'

The other main method used in comparative education is the 'problem approach'. About this much mystification has been made, but it is not in effect basically different from its use in the sciences, or as a method commonly employed in other branches of educational research.<sup>8</sup> In comparative education it consists of the identification of a number of educational problems in different countries to see what forms they take and how they are (or might be) resolved. How the method is applied is open to some variation. A number of hypotheses may be set up regarding a problem, which may then be tested cross-culturally. Thus one might, for example, hypothesize that an efficient system of adult education postulates resources beyond

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<sup>7</sup> Andrews (op. cit.) has this to say about classifications: 'A good simple classification must satisfy the minimum formal requirements of exhaustiveness and exclusiveness - which means that every item which belongs to a category must fall into one of its sub-categories, and that no item should fall into two sub-categories at once, although with classifications which concern reality there are bound to be borderline cases. This means that at each stage the principle of classification must be the same. A compound classification ought to consist of simple classifications which comply with these requirements.' (p. 26)

<sup>8</sup> One interpretation of the problem approach is given in my article, *Comparative Education: Explorations*, Comparative Education, (Oxford), Vol. 3, No. 3, June 1967, pp. 189-195.

the capacity of local educational authorities, but which can only be supplied regionally or nationally, and then proceed to examine a number of national cases. Since, however, it is usually simple to find eclectically examples that support a particular hypothesis, this method needs refinement. One procedure would be to select cases which are significant, some of which confirm, and others refute, the original hypothesis. A detailed study of the examples leads, as in a judicial process, to a summing-up and hence to a verdict. Yet another procedural device is to examine as many cases as possible at random, testing out finally one's hypothesis on the 'hardest cases'. Or one may take a leaf from the book of the social scientist by drawing up a survey questionnaire containing standardised questions which must be answered with great accuracy and attention to detail, again a judicial procedure of examination of evidence, summing up and pronouncing a verdict is employed. Another approach has been termed 'thematological', and unlike the others, must be qualitative rather than quantitative: it consists of taking a number of themes (for example, 'polytechnization' in Soviet adult education) and examining what forms these may take in other cultures. Such a method has affinities with the macro-factor type of investigations used by the early academic comparative educationists.

There is no intrinsic reason why methods used in other disciplines should not be employed, mutatis mutandis, in comparative investigations. Thus Maurice Debesse uses the method that has been designated as 'the history and geography' of comparison. Kazamias<sup>9</sup> has developed a form of sociological

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<sup>9</sup> Descriptions of the methods used by Debesse and Kazamias are given in: A. Vexliard, La Pédagogie Comparée: Méthodes et Problèmes, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1967, pp. 75-81.

functionalism which, in this writer's opinion, has many resemblances to Eisenstadt's 'sociological correlates'. The variables in an institutional structure common to a number of countries are isolated, and a relationship between them is postulated. A method of covariance is then employed. If variable A moves in direction X, how does variable B move? Whether it moves in direction X or Y, the task is to furnish an explanation and to predict the consequences.

One must, however, end as one began, by stating that, although the methods outlined have been used in the past by comparative educationists, each new study particularly in the field of adult education, where no comparative studies have as yet taken place, requires its own method. It is in the light of this that the concluding part of this paper, which deals specifically - but from a lay viewpoint - with adult education, is concerned.

The first task is obviously one of definition: one must discover very precisely what significance is attached to the term 'adult education' in individual countries. Here it is essential to know that adult education, for example, is much more advanced in England than it is in Federal Germany or France, and to realise that Erwachsenenbildung in German and education des adultes (or education permanente) in French do not have the same connotation. In each country adult education has a four-fold content: additional general secondary education, professional or vocational education, general cultural courses, post-school preparation for higher education; but the stress on each of these aspects varies greatly from one to another. (And in some countries, such as Italy, it can also mean post-school primary education, as part of a drive to end illiteracy). Doubtless some initial survey of the meanings

to be attached to adult education has already been made. This would require amplification so that there may be designated those problems of adult education that the industrialized countries find most pressing. (See Appendix A). It is suggested that, using an international questionnaire as the instrument, a preliminary classification of such problems (under headings which would doubtless be the usual political, social, economic, psychological and pedagogical ones) be drawn up. A rank order of problems, according to their urgency, might be made, and, according to the degree of concordance, it would then be possible to decide which countries should fall within the purview of an initial comparison. (As will be mentioned later, a start might well be made with the English-speaking countries alone).

Within the dual framework of problems and countries the first need is for the systematic collection of data that are relevant, statistically reliable and comparable. If the machinery for the storage and retrieval of such information regarding adult education does not already exist, it should be a first priority. The second step must be to provide tentative conceptual frameworks within which problems may be analysed and resolved. It must be recognized, as previously stated, that such theoretical constructs are only provisional, and may well have to be modified as the particular study proceeds. What follows is an attempt to illustrate how such models may be drawn: one example is put forward of general applicability, and the other is more suitable for a specific comparison.

The general example of a conceptual framework consists of a cyclical systems analysis of inputs and outputs.<sup>10</sup> It demonstrates how the flow of

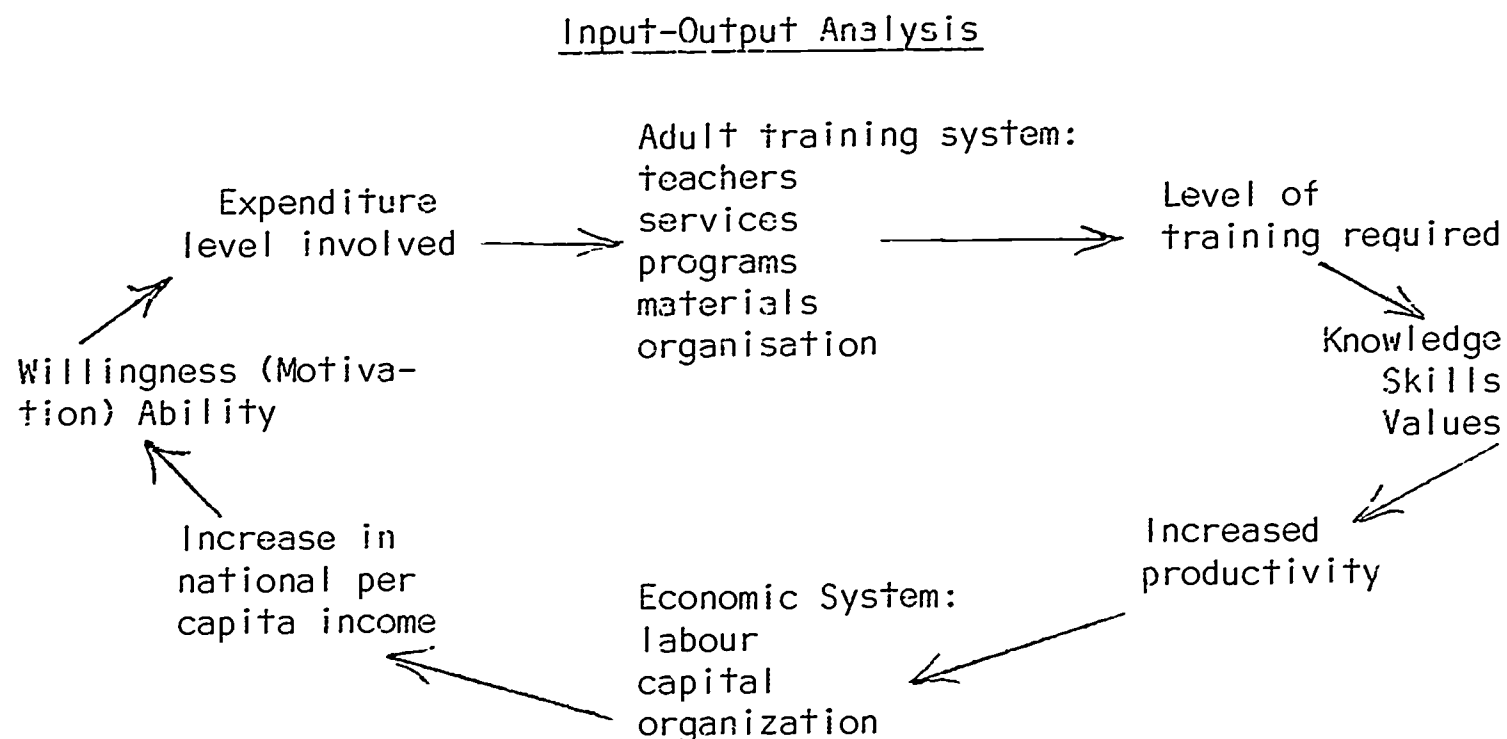
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This model is adapted from one originally propounded by Dr. Cheale, of the University of Alberta, who presented it in a paper given at the Comparative Education Society (Eastern Region) meeting held in Montreal in May 1966.



resources, both human and material, into adult education (or into a specific segment of the field) is converted into a 'know-how' which may ultimately be converted into increased productivity within the economic system and thus into a growth in national per capita income:



The top half of the schema represents the 'investment' aspect of the cycle, and the bottom the return on investment. Such a model is capable of an infinite number of variations, but clearly applicable only to comparisons between advanced economies, such as between the various Canadian provinces or between nations at an approximately similar level of industrial and educational development. Every phase of the cycle would require close statistical investigation. Such a model might prove useful for investigating comparatively some hypothesis such as: "the higher the stage of economic development of a nation the more profitable it is to use full-time vocational training rather than factory-based training, whether formally in apprenticeship or informally 'on the job'." Such a cross-national comparison, with its three-dimensional aspect, would be of great value in determining cost effectiveness of alternative training methods.

If the model above is applicable only to macro-comparisons, the second, concerning curriculum research in adult education, is more simple in application. There is urgent need in all branches of education for comparative curriculum research, and particularly so in adult education, where 'wastage' presents considerable problems. In the Common Market countries, for example, the Treaty of Rome provides that by 1970 there shall be free movement for all professions and occupations within the borders of the Six. This means therefore that an



Italian lawyer trained in Milan will be able to establish himself without further ado in Bonn and practise law in West Germany; likewise the Dutch engineer, trained in Delft, will be able to take up employment supervising the building of dams on the Rhone. Whereas political agreement on the equivalence of professional diplomas has thus been reached already (unlike agreement for the equivalence of academic diplomas), the educational consequences of this have not yet been faced. Unrestricted movement across frontiers in this way must eventually lead to a standardization of professional and occupational training within the countries involved. Or one may take an example even more cogent. European doctors emigrating to Canada may be required to take at least one year's further study here before being allowed to practise. This is wasteful not only to the individual but also to a country which welcomes immigrants because it has need of their competencies. But, so long as no detailed comparison of medical training as between European countries and Canada has been made, this is probably a wise precaution. Yet, rather than proceed by hunches and subjective impressions of those who have had experience of European medical standards, it would surely be advantageous to test (if necessary literally) what differences and similarities exist between preparation for different professions and occupations as between emigrant and host countries. A five-stage model<sup>11</sup> for this might be:

Stage I. The elaboration of initial hypotheses.

Stage II. (a) Analysis of cognitive and affective aims in the training programmes of countries concerned. To each individual goal a 'coefficient of importance' is to be assigned.

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<sup>11</sup>This model has been adapted from the one used in the Oxford/Council of Europe Study for the Evaluation of the Academic Secondary Curriculum. This project is concerned with acceptability of secondary leaving diplomas for university entrance. Curriculum analysis has been made of 'common core' and 'specific' elements in the programmes of member countries of the Council of Europe. This might eventually form the basis for constructing a 'Council of Europe Baccalaureat Examination,' which would entitle holders of its diplomas to enter universities of countries that had agreed to accept it. In connection with the Study, a series entitled European Curriculum Studies is to appear published by the Council for Cultural Cooperation on behalf of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, in English and French. No. 1 in the series is by W.D. Halls and Doreen Humphreys, Mathematics in the Academic Secondary School, and is already in the press. Other volumes on Latin and Physics are in the process of completion. The study is at present actively concerned with the programmes in modern languages, chemistry and biology.

- (b) Analysis of contentual knowledge required. To each individual topic a 'coefficient of importance' is to be assigned.
- (c) Identification of 'common core' aims and topics, and of aims and topics specific to the countries concerned.
- (d) Identification of dependent (or 'input' variables. e.g. initial level of general education, length of training, etc.

Stage III. (a) Drawing of sample populations from experimental group (immigrants) and control group (Canadians).  
 (b) Construction of test items to deal with both the 'common core' and 'specific' aspects.

Stage IV Administration of tests and evaluation of results, using regression analysis for 'input' variables.

Stage V. Follow-up: Political action? Supplementary courses?  
 Professional action?

The aim would be to draw up a profile of achievement for each immigrant-producing country. Such a 'profile' would then be submitted to the competent authorities who could judge whether the immigrant could practise his profession or occupation immediately, or whether additional training would be required. Whilst it is recognized that there can be no absolute equivalence of diplomas and qualifications between nations of widely differing cultural traditions, there can be mutual recognition on a basis of 'acceptability'.

There is, in fact, no area of educational theory and practice which does not lend itself to comparative studies - they can be carried out 'across the board'. It would follow therefore that research in comparative education must largely be a cooperative enterprise, at least as concerns empirical studies dealing with detailed educational phenomena. For adult education a research team might include: (a) a specialist in the area of adult education under review, who will probably have to familiarize himself to some extent with the corresponding area of adult education in the foreign countries selected for comparison, (b) a specialist in comparative education, who is not a general expert on his indigenous educational system (the 'base system'), but also on the educational systems of the foreign countries as a whole, and who has some general knowledge of the cultural, historical, political, social and economic forces that shape those systems, (c) social scientists, where required.

A fruitful field for beginning such comparative studies in adult education might be the English-speaking countries. There is (let us be bold!) no language barrier, and since one quarter of Canada's yearly influx of immigrants are still

of English-speaking origin, it is obviously a geographical area where comparisons may be of great practical utility. The natural extension to this would be to draw in the French-speaking countries. (It must not be forgotten that a command of French and English throws open to us for study the educational system of one third of the population of the globe).

This paper has been able to do no more than open up the field. It is hoped, however, that it may stimulate others to develop other ideas. At a time when adult education, whether in the form of remedying formal educational deficiencies, or as part of the initial or continuing process of occupational training, - or even as education for leisure - is the last and logically the next, great field of educational expansion, it is obvious that the nations have much to learn from each other. And that surely, in the strictly utilitarian sense, is what comparative education is about.

Toronto,  
March, 1968

W. D. Halls

## APPENDIX A.

### A SELECTED LIST OF TOPICS IN ADULT EDUCATION FOR CROSS-CULTURAL AND CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISONS.

The order is a random one. The list comprises topics that the present writer, in the course of his research in comparative education, has noted as of interest; it lays no claim to completeness.

Financial and budgetary aspects.

Administration, e.g. centralization v. decentralization.

Private educational institutions.

Planning of adult education.

Relationship between general and specialized (vocational or professional) education.

Relationship between business and industry and adult education.

Teacher training for vocational and professional education.

Syllabuses and programmes.

Apprenticeship.

'Drop-out'.

Methodology of the teaching of adults.

Examination procedures.

Modes of entry to professional and other occupations.

Professional and vocational guidance.

Textbooks in adult education.

Alternative routes to higher education (cf. 'Deuxieme voie de formation',  
/Zweiter Bildungsweg')

Professional and occupational equivalences.



## NOTES ON COMPARATIVE METHOD IN EDUCATION

by

Donald Adams

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Presented at the  
Seminar on Comparative Studies in Adult Education  
OISE April 10, 1968

## NOTES ON COMPARATIVE METHOD IN EDUCATION

Don Adams

It has been said that the people of the world may be divided into two types, the hedgehogs and the foxes. The former for satisfaction must acquire a full measure of what they seek while the latter are satisfied with partial fulfillment. The hedgehogs in comparative education worry over the purity of the word comparison, the tertium comparationis and seek one grand method for cross-cultural studies. Being psychologically oriented toward the foxes, I tend to argue that considerable progress can be made in comparative studies in education by simply utilizing some of the concepts and procedures readily available in the social and behavioral sciences.

1. First, I would argue that there is little to be learned from the many articles on methodology found in such journals as the Comparative Education Review, International Review of Education and Comparative Education. This statement would also apply to the discussion of method found in the "classic" works on comparative education by I. L. Kandel, Nicholas Hans, etc. In their careful historical studies, these scholars made inestimable contributions to the development of the field; yet compared with today, they lived in a methodologically impoverished period. Theirs was a world where institutions were at the mercy of "intangible forces," "philosophic perspectives," "national character," etc. These exceedingly ill-defined and somewhat mysterious terms drew very little from the conceptual and analytic tools of the social sciences. No systematic analyses were undertaken of the ways in which the demography, social structure or the economy link with educational change. And even when using a concept common to the behavioral sciences, such as national character, they failed to examine psychological and anthropological sources in developing their definition.

2. I would argue that the new guard in Comparative Education really has yet to offer anything much better than that found in the older writings. Some have spent their time in a quest for one general comparative method of education. In this regard George Bereday has offered us a sort of exercise in lay logic by identifying four stages in the procedure for comparison. This effort, I think, has been quite useful for gaining some insight as to what generally must be considered in a comparative process but it fails by a wide margin to be explicit enough to assist in the actual ordering of data.

Nor are the standard textbooks by King, Holmes, Cramer and Browne or Thut and Adams any more helpful. None of these textbooks seriously comes to grips with conceptual frameworks which might have utility for explicit comparisons or at least facilitate the ordering of data. Even those textbooks which make a pass at method limit their observations on this topic to an introductory chapter or two which is quickly forgotten as the authors get involved in the task of reporting educational data selected apparently on the basis of interest or availability.

3. More rewarding places to search for insight into comparative method in education are some of the research articles presented in periodicals such as those identified above and in the literature on method and theory in the social sciences.

The basic problem, of course, is not comparative method in education, but method in education. Theoretically and methodologically, education obviously is an impoverished field. Partly, this is a result of the nature of the field of education and its concern with an exceedingly complex process which resists examination, let alone measurement. In addition, however, this state of the art reflects the history of departments and colleges of education which in the past have more resembled seminaries preparing persons who have been "called" than agencies devoted to the scientific study of particular phenomena. Note, for example, that in economics, psychology, or even sociology, one can find handbooks or surveys which lay out the basic theory, identify major concepts, and discuss at least in a partial way, the methodology of the discipline. Such materials cannot be found in the field of education. Note also the paucity of either propositions or indices of educational change that we have to show for our long history of being in the business of education. Economics, for example, has a variety of indices with which it can identify its operations and outcomes, e.g., indices of productivity, GNP, etc. But in education, what do we know about the output in terms of the attitudes, motivations, or other behavior acquired during schooling. Most disturbing of all is not the lack of concepts and rhetoric in education, or the absence of propositions, or even the scarcity of satisfactory output measures. Most disturbing is that there appears to be relatively little effort expended toward thinking in terms of propositions or hypotheses and toward using these, both as conclusions and starting points for new comparative analyses.

4. To specify a few of the academic crevices into which we might search for help:

(a) First, we need to give attention to definitional and taxonomic considerations to assist in laying a foundation for analysis and comparison.

As C. Arnold Anderson has pointed out, even internal analyses of institutions may lead to generalizations. Anthropologists, for example, by focusing on the family have been able to make certain generalizations about relationships between patterns of residence and kinship obligations. In political science, certain types of electoral systems have been found to facilitate decisive outcomes, while other types foster splinter-groups. Thus, simply a focus on the education system itself might lead to significant generalizations concerning the interaction of such variables as pupil-teacher relationships, administrative styles, school achievement, etc.

In building taxonomic or classificatory schemes the goal is to arrive at a place where the functions, e.g., process and consequences of the educational system may be examined and compared. For both intra-educational studies and educational-societal studies something of the nature of Jules Henry's Cross Cultural Outline could have considerable utility (Current Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1960).

(b) For those concerned with examining the function of an educational system at an abstract level (in contrast for example, to the orientation of Henry's work) the writings of Talcott Parsons bear examination. Parsons suggests that any social system has four functional imperatives (necessary conditions for action).

pattern	goal
maintaining	setting
adapting	integration



Toward which functional imperatives of the superordinate social system is the educational system or its subsystems most strongly oriented? For a beginning consideration of this question see the chapter by Don Adams and Robert Bjork in Stewart Fraser (ed.) Government Policy and International Education, John Wiley, 1966.

(c) A number of other concepts from the social sciences could be enumerated which might be valuable in the comparative study of certain educational problems. Concepts from economics such as costs/benefits analysis and rate of return immediately come to mind. Rather than proceed to compile a lengthy, sometimes-useful list of social scientific tools, an attempt will now be made to suggest two synthesizing concepts which I consider to be of considerable utility in: (1) providing a framework for comparison, and (2) allowing the application of a variety of tools drawn from a number of disciplines.

5. The basic synthesizing method to which I refer is systems analysis. I use this term with some reservation for there is considerable faddishness and no small amount of "Madison Avenue" associated with it. Nevertheless, I feel it has demonstrated its utility in the study of educational systems and offers potential in comparative studies.

Students of comparative education have long argued that their field of study is interdisciplinary. The wide variety of intra-educational and educational-societal studies now being undertaken in other geo-cultural areas requires the tools of several disciplines. Moreover, insights into the role of education in such social processes as urbanization, industrialization and modernization require a framework for analysis and conceptual equipment rarely found in educational literature. A "systems" approach may provide a way toward transcending the limitations of a single disciplinary approach, yet also avoid the a-theoretical (and indeed a-analytical) descriptive studies common in comparative education.

Social systems models are not new to the academic scene and have long been associated with analysis in both the natural and social sciences. A system may be simply viewed as consisting of elements which have some definable relation to each other. Talcott Parsons, for example, argues that three levels of systems are relevant to the social sciences: personality, cultural systems and social systems. Since social groupings ranging from small interest groups to whole societies are viewed as having order, they have been treated as systems.

The following are among the many advantages attributed to the systems approach by its advocates:

1. A common vocabulary unifying the several "behavioral" disciplines.
2. A technique for treating large, complex organizations.
3. A synthetic approach where piecemeal analysis is not possible due to the intricate interrelationships of parts that cannot be treated out of context to the whole.
4. A viewpoint that gets at the heart of sociology because it sees the sociocultural system in terms of information and communication nets.



5. The study of relations rather than "entities" with an emphasis on process and transitions, probabilities as the basis of a flexible structure with many degrees of freedom.
6. An operationally definable, objective, non-anthropomorphic study of purposiveness, goal-seeking system behavior, symbolic cognitive processes, consciousness and self-awareness, and so sociocultural emergence and dynamics in general.

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Walter Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory

Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1967, p. 39.

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Even though one of the trends in systems theory is to give less attention to definitions, some further explanation of our use of the term "systems" is in order. One finds systems and systems analysis used in engineering, physical sciences, communications, management studies, the new synthetic science of cybernetics and in the social sciences. It is the application and interpretation of given systems in the social sciences that will be drawn upon here. Thus I will be talking about social systems which are open and dynamic, not the closed systems model more common to the applied sciences. More precisely the focus here is on that social system or subsystem called education.

In viewing the educational system, attention may be given to both the internal operations of the system and its external relationships to other social systems. The nature of the inputs to the educational system, e.g., objectives, content, students and teachers, can be examined in light of the social, economic, demographic characteristics of the societies from which the inputs are derived. Detailed analysis of the internal operation of the educational system--schedule of classes, facilities, teaching techniques, etc.--may also be considered part of systems analysis; frequently such analysis falls under the term operations research. The outputs of the various levels and programs of the educational systems are individuals, knowledge, skills, new roles and statuses. Thus a systems approach will essentially consider these types of variables: a. Societal features such as norms and goals and the derivative educational objectives. These inputs into the educational system are outputs of other systems, e.g., the family, the superordinate social system, etc. Answers may be sought to such questions as: In the society in question is there an articulated system of values influencing the direction of educational policies? What demographic and stratification features constrain the numbers and kinds of students and teachers participating in the educational system? How do the ethnic, linguistic and religious cleavages affect school participation and success.

b. The intrasystem dynamic variables affecting the educational process. Attention may focus on such questions as: Do educational traditions make the existing educational system dysfunctional in terms of new economic and social goals? What techniques does the educational system employ to modify the social, economic and political constraints on its inputs. c. The

outputs of the educational system which become inputs into the economy, social stratification and other systems. Some attempt may also be made to examine output in terms of the commitments and predispositions of school graduates. Here, for example, answers may be sought to questions such as: To what extent does the educational system meet national manpower needs? Can the economic returns to education be measured? Which social groups, classes or castes are most rewarded by education? Does education act as a channel for social mobility? Are the educated elite committed to goals of social equity and economic growth?

Clearly the above discussions of inputs and outputs is an oversimplified and incomplete view of the linkages between the educational system and other major subsystems of society. First of all, systems are not as easily separable as might be initially supposed. The economic system overlaps with the political system not only because individuals occupy multiple positions and perform multiple roles (e.g., father, banker, voter, etc.) but also some systems are of higher order than others.

Moreover, any attempt to show the interrelationships of systems is further complicated by the fact that the influence may not be expected only between two systems. For example, the political system might influence the economic system through the educational system. Or the family through precept or explicit teaching may shape the values of its members which in turn color their participation in the religious system and, through that system, other social systems.

Considerable more elaboration would be needed to identify all of the nuances of systems analysis applied to a study of education. This brief discussion should, however, suggest its potential: as a framework for incorporating concepts and research techniques from a number of disciplines, as a device to assist in policy formation, and as an approach to comparative studies.

Frequently in comparative education we are concerned with the dynamics of educational change or educational change in the context of social change. Another concept, differentiation, may be introduced to assist in analysis of educational systems undergoing structural or functional change.

The basis of the principle of differentiation as defined by MacIver and Page is the correlation of the time-order with the appearance of more differentiated species. It is their thesis that differentiation of structure cannot be separated from differentiation of function. The differentiation process manifests itself as:

(a) a greater division of labor, so that the energy of more individuals is concentrated on more specific tasks and so that thereby a more elaborate system of co-operation, a more intricate nexus of functional relationships is sustained within the group;

(b) an increase in the number and the variety of functional associations and institutions so that each is more defined or more limited in the range or character of its service. . .

(c) a greater diversity and refinement in the instruments of social communication, perhaps above all in the medium of language.



Although it is possible to find semantic differences and real disagreement as to the meanings and limits of the concept, it is generally accepted that differentiation is a key term which, at minimum, incorporates many of the structural attributes of modernization. In relatively undifferentiated societies the family or kinship group perform most of the crucial social tasks such as finding and distributing food and other goods, making decisions about crime and punishment, educating the young, etc. In modern industrialized societies, separate organizations and entities make and distribute goods, educate, govern and perform other specialized functions. The process of modernization of societies is characterized then by the separating out from the family of the economic, political and educational institutions and the creating of a distinct place for them in the social order.

In the process of modernization drastic changes may be expected in the various sectors and subsystems of society: technology will change toward the increased application of scientific knowledge; agriculture will move from subsistence farming to cash crops and commercial production; industry will exhibit a muscle power toward the use of machines which derive power from other forms of energy; religion will demonstrate a secularization of belief patterns; ecological arrangements will move toward urban concentration; familial patterns will show a reduction in size and number of functions; education will grow in quantity available and variety of curricula offered.

Differentiation in the form of new social structures may result from any number of antecedent changes: alterations in population structures, new moral, social or technological inventions or innovations, changes in geographical conditions, etc. The emergence in the most advanced nations of specialized legal, economic, business, governmental and educational institutions can be related, at least historically, to such changes either internal or external to the social systems in question. It is not, of course, being suggested that such differentiation always takes place in harmony, nor is in every society a matter of simple evolution. Inter-institutional and inter-system stresses and strains are all too apparant and have been well documented in both scholarly research and psychologically-orientated fiction.

Modernization means a growing specialization roles and organizations within the educations system. There is a growing differentiation between levels of education, creating new problems of articulation and co-ordination. At the same time, because of the competition between sub-systems for resources and the growing tendency toward planning, there is a growing unification of the system. That is, articulation and integration of the educational system must take place to lessen "system-strains" and maintain the internal culture. Further, some acceptable level of consistency must be developed between the educational system and other social systems, e.g., family, polity, economy.

The most clear and dramatic way to illustrate differentiation of the educational system is to compare primitive or traditional societies with modern ones. In the traditional society, the family or kinship group along with its other functions, typically has the major responsibility for education. The primary educational goal in traditional societies is the fostering of commitment to diffuse adult obligations. Structurally, then, the educational system is undifferentiated from the family and functionally it prepares for diffuse roles. The patterns of value orientations structuring relations within the educational system are particularistic, ascriptive, diffuse and affective. As has already been pointed out, in the traditional society, education leads to an effective

commitment to a diffuse adult role. Participation in the education process is governed by such ascriptive criteria as sex, age, size and lineage. Since the outcomes of education ordinarily are of concern to the kinship group, we may say that the process is circumscribed by particularistic norms.

A contrast may be made with an ideal type modern society. Here the educational system is a recognized autonomous system with a large variety of sub-systems. The functions of the education system are numerous in keeping with the specialized demands of modern society. The educational system, at the most general level, provides a source for the human resources and creativity necessary to continue modernization. The educational system also assists in the preparation for highly specific occupational tasks. The value orientations structuring relations within the system tend to be universalistic, achievement-based, specific and neutral. The outcomes of the system are universalistic, for they transcend the norms of particular social groups. The system seeks to promote commitments and obligations the fulfillment of which need not be immediate. Finally, achievement criteria guide reward and promotion within the system.

Considerable elaboration and specification are needed to more fully understand the applications of the concepts of differentiation in examining change in educational systems. The question of measuring educational differentiation is of crucial importance. Although this question cannot be examined here, it should be pointed out that a small amount of relevant literature already exists. (See for example, Frederick Harbison and Charles Myers Education, Manpower and Economic Growth. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1965. Also see the attempts at the measurement of structural differentiation in education found in Don Adams and Joseph Farrell (EDS) Education and Social Development. Center for Development Education, Syracuse University, 1967)

8. In conclusion, it might be said that those who can, do, and those who can't, worry about method. There is perhaps some truth to this and certainly many of our practical policy problems in education can be solved by careful examination of existing educational situations without elaborate use of conceptual analytical tools. Moreover, there is some danger of being seduced by a) the rhetoric of other disciplines, which may offer new names but no further explanation, or b) certain slick management techniques which suggest quick answers based on extremely easy assumptions.

Nevertheless, my basic argument is that the answer to improved comparative studies lies not in new, grandiose designs, but in the ability to scrounge in many academic crevices for concepts and tools useful for the particular purposes we have in mind.



TOWARD A GRADUATE PROGRAM IN THE  
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION ...

by

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Presented at the  
Seminar on Comparative Studies in Adult Education  
OISE April 10, 1968

## TOWARD A GRADUATE PROGRAM IN THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION ...

A. A. Liveright

In the face of the various problems proposed by Dr. Halls and Professor Adams with respect to the broad field of comparative education (which is relatively mature and well developed), the problems confronting those of us interested in the comparative study of adult education are indeed astronomical. And, as several members of the seminar suggested, only fools would rush into this area of graduate study -- but we are involved and running.

A brief historical perspective suggests that interest in the comparative study of adult education is a fairly recent one. Spasmodic reports about various adult education programs in different countries have appeared for over twenty years, especially in various UNESCO publications. Several world-wide meetings have been held to discuss adult education, to develop guidelines, to propose long-term goals, and, informally, to discuss similarities and differences in programs of adult education around the world. A few journals have developed during the past few years to supplement the now defunct UNESCO Journal of Youth and Adult Education. The International Congress of University Adult Education has published a journal (on an average of twice a year) since 1961 and during the past few months, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education has just published the first issue of Convergence which promises to fill an important role in the further study of comparative adult education. In addition, there are a number of regional associations and publications (the African Adult Education Association, the Asian South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education, the European Bureau of Adult Education, the recently organized North American Adult Education Organization) which further the international dialogue between adult educators and which can increasingly serve as resources for studies and research in international adult education.

On a more formal and conscious basis the emergence of a discipline (?), or area of study, concerned with comparative adult education is fairly recent. In Yugoslavia, the University of Belgrade has two faculty members directly concerned with the field of Andragogy. As far as can be determined, this term was first used by Borivoj Samolovcev and Dusan Savicevic of the University of Belgrade to describe their area of study and they have written a number of studies dealing with comparative adult education. Cornell University in the U.S. has, for years, been especially concerned with international aspects of adult education and has, under the leadership of Paul Leagans, included some aspects of comparative study in its graduate program for adult educators (primarily those in the area of agricultural extension). A number of extra-mural directors in the United Kingdom have been active in adult education in Africa and Asia and a growing number of publications about adult education in developing nations have resulted from these overseas experiences. In addition, an increasing number of overseas adult educators are becoming involved as instructors in workshops and seminars in graduate programs in adult education in the United States. Some North American adult educators have served as visiting faculty at the Delegacy of Extra-Mural Studies at Oxford and there has been an increase in study grants both to

participated in the first conference at Exeter will attempt to evaluate progress since 1966 and will make recommendations for next steps. In addition, one of the three major areas of study at the Second World Conference on University Adult Education to be held in Montreal in August of 1970, will be the training and graduate education of adult educators.

In summary, there appears to be growing world-wide interest and activity in the field of the comparative study of adult education and the lines of communication as well as of experimentation seem to be opening up in a positive and constructive but still considerably limited manner.

Moving from the broad and global picture, those of us who have actually led seminars in the Comparative Study of Adult Education are beginning to arrive at some conclusions -- or more aptly described, at some questions -- about graduate programs in the comparative study of adult education. One of the major questions which is being considered but which has not yet been resolved is that of how programs in the comparative study of adult education should be related to study and course work in the broader field of comparative study of education in general. To what extent is one particular approach or method of comparative study of education best applicable to the study of adult education? What text books in the general field and what conceptual frameworks are the most useful? How should specific courses and seminars focussing specifically on adult education be related to on-going programs in the broader field of comparative study of education? Should students in the adult education area be required to participate in the broader programs first and then move on to more specific studies in adult education? In general, how should the emerging courses and programs in adult education be linked with and related to the entire field of comparative study? Some preliminary discussions have been held about these questions (notably the small conference convened by The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto in April, 1968), but, at this time we are still groping for the right and appropriate questions rather than being at the point of coming up with the viable answers.

Progressing to some of the findings -- again more in terms of perplexing questions than firm answers -- growing out of actual experience in leading graduate programs in the comparative study of adult education the following comments gleaned from students who participated in the seminars at Boston University (and at OISE) during the past year may serve as guidelines or cautions for others who are about to move into the field.

The following is a summary of comments from the twenty participants in a one-semester course on the comparative study of adult education held at Boston University in the spring of 1968, as well as some consensus (involving both instructor and students) about the implications for further programs in the area.

1. A fairly general desire for more explication and didactic approach at outset.

A number of comments suggested that more time should have been



and from North America for adult educators during the past five or six years. A review of the topics for doctoral dissertations in the United States in the field of adult education, however, reveals that only a very small proportion have been concerned with any aspect of international adult education much less with any organized conceptual approach to the comparative study thereof.

Although this brief overview suggests the need for a more intensive and more fully documented analysis of past activities in international and comparative adult education, it appears that the first call for some organized study of comparative adult education and for the development of a conceptual framework grew out of the First World Conference on University Adult Education held by the International Congress of University of Adult Education in Humlebaek, Denmark, in June of 1965. Following this mandate from the Humlebaek conference, the International Congress convened the First International Conference on the Comparative Study of Adult Education (in cooperation with the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults and the New England Center for Continuing Education) in Exeter, New Hampshire in 1966. The deliberations of this conference including a first attempt to set up a conceptual framework for the comparative study of adult education as well as an application of the framework to some five different countries was published in 1968 by CSLEA as the Exeter Papers. It is hoped that this publication and the ideas contained in it may serve as a springboard for extended discussion and debate about a desirable approach to the comparative study of adult education in the future. Following the Exeter conference, the Commission of Professors of Adult Education of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. set up a Committee on the Comparative and International Study of Adult Education which will, hopefully, focus further attention in North America on this subject. In addition, seminars on the Comparative study of adult education were offered on an experimental basis at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (in cooperation with the University of Toronto) and by the School of Education at Boston University during the academic year 1967-68. In addition, a small conference of professors and students active in the area of comparative adult education held at OISE in Toronto in April, 1968, served as the locale for a discussion of recent developments in the field and the stimulus for preparing these notes. It is expected that another graduate seminar will be offered at Syracuse University during the academic year 1968-69 and that the program at OISE will be continued during that year. A number of additional courses on comparative adult education are now being offered in the United Kingdom, in Yugoslavia and in several other parts of the world but, as yet, we do not have any comprehensive overview or report on such programs.

Looking ahead, the International Congress of University Adult Education is now in the process of securing preliminary information about graduate programs in adult education (including those in the area of comparative study) on a world-wide basis as well as about training institutes and workshops for adult educators. In early December 1969, Syracuse University, in cooperation with the International Congress of University Adult Education will hold the Second International Conference on the Comparative Study of Adult Education at which time many of those who



spent at the outset in explaining the conceptual framework and setting forth a definite criteria for comparative study. Feeling that the framework set forth should not have been laid open for comments and reactions at outset (possibly at end of seminar).

2. More time for discussion of various approaches to comparative study mentioned by several students.

"The need for rushing raised the question as to whether more time could have been allotted to this area. Ulich's, The Education of Nations provided an excellent background for the course."

3. Fairly unanimous feeling that we were trying to do too much in one semester.

Most comments suggested that one semester is too short to provide sufficient time for really analyzing a comparative framework, for testing it, for applying it to individual countries and also for discussing some of the problems and dilemmas which cut across the various countries.

4. More discussion and analysis of the various international organizations and associations related to international adult education.

Several persons felt that insufficient time devoted to discussion of the various organizations involved in international adult education i.e. the derivation and background of the Exeter Papers and the organizations involved in planning the conference, etc.

5. Cross-cultural approach, emphasis on historical, cultural, economic, demographic background well received and felt to be helpful.

Although general approval and support for this approach, one person mentioned that despite this approach, a number of presentations did not really get at the "spirit" of the countries.

6. Group discussions of comparative problems areas did not work out.

Although members of the group selected broad problem areas for their group presentations (term papers were to be on individual countries), the presentations came out primarily in terms of describing the background and the educational system in a particular country rather than dealing with the problem area to be discussed. We evidently attempted to get into comparative problem discussions too soon and it might be better to do more thorough job of looking at several countries in line with conceptual framework before trying to move into cross-national or regional problem analysis.

7. Problems were presented in terms of the lack of adequate bibliography and available materials.

Although the problem, interestingly enough, was not mentioned by members of the group in their analysis, leader felt lack of sound

bibliographies and inadequacy of materials in library or in leader's files. Individual members of group did excellent job of finding necessary materials in other libraries such as African Studies, Harvard, and by going to various consulates and embassies and using addresses provided by instructor. More time required, however, to fully use these extra-library resources. Expect that the bibliographies which will be submitted by all members of the seminar will be of great help in future.

8. Interesting comparisons between overseas and U.S. adult education developed.

Initial discussion and suggestions as to possible comparisons between adult education programs overseas and U.S. (especially between developing nations and poverty areas in United States) evidently picked up by members of the group and illustrated and developed in their discussions and term papers.

9. Probably wise to try out on two-semester basis in future.

Agree that it is impossible to try to achieve the objectives set forth in one semester and loathe to modify or cut down objectives.

A quick review of the comments and reactions of the students who participated in the course on comparative study of adult education offered at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in the first semester, 1967-68, revealed considerable agreement in the comments and questions raised by that group with those raised by the B.U. students. Emphasized by the OISE students was the lack of time, in one semester, to really get into the framework and theory of comparative study as well as to apply the framework to specific countries as well as to cross-national problems. The need for more and better bibliographical references was also mentioned as were several of the other problems identified by the BU group.

The comments and reactions from students at Boston University (and at the OISE) suggest that: there is great interest in such programs; a desire to delve further into the comparative study; but also a compelling need for continuing examination, modification and improvement of the present programs and offerings. As a result of these emerging programs, the sharing of experiences, evaluations and modifications in courses, as well as a system for sharing term papers and bibliographies during the next few years is required so that the interesting practical experience now under way may be shared in the forthcoming meetings of those involved in furthering the field of comparative study of adult education. The openness, fluidity, involvement of the students in the process and the increasing desire to share experiences -- both successes and failures -- among those working in the field auger well for the continuing development of graduate study in comparative adult education. For those who are interested more in helping to build a new and important field, rather than fitting into a crystalized and already formulated area of study, the field of comparative adult education offers exciting and important challenges.

SOME NOTES ON THE SEMINAR

Prepared by

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Seminar on Comparative Studies in Adult Education

OISE

April 10, 1968

Dr. Kidd set the tone for the all-day Seminar with his review of past comparative efforts in adult education, and with his conception of the priorities for the comparative study of adult education. These priorities are to seek out new approaches, to discover means of systematically collecting international data, to reach a consensus on definitions in the field, to examine the responsibility for sharing information, and to identify the questions to be asked and the problems to be solved in looking at adult education from a cross-national, cross-cultural perspective.

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Dr. Halls followed with his paper on "Comparative Studies and Adult Education". Halls takes a traditionalist stand in looking at comparative education, and his remarks were balanced by those of Dr. Adams, who advocates a broader, more flexible approach to comparative education.

Halls emphasized that comparative education should not just be a study of educational systems; the heart of the comparative method is the dialectic between the theoretical and the practical (or empirical). Methodology should be especially related to "functional comparisons," with cross-cultural data submitted to statistical analysis with constant reference back to the "base system" from which the educational system under study arose. By "functional," Halls means that comparative studies in education should yield something of use, for example something which would lead to educational reform.

In performing comparative studies, the search is for "common elements" which lend themselves to prediction. However, unless these common elements have utility within the educational system, the comparative study is just an intellectual exercise. Any conceptual framework used in comparative studies in adult education should not be too rigid, and wherever possible, attempts should be made to quantify variables. Comparisons should be restricted to countries at roughly the same level of economic development, and they should be limited to two or three phenomena common to all countries involved. Hall further advocates caution in the premature use of frameworks, and proceeds to offer two models as examples. One model demonstrates the cross-cultural interplay of educational systems along the lines of theory and practice, and the other demonstrates the problem approach to comparative education. Halls also sees no reason why the methodology of other disciplines could not be used in comparative education, but as we shall see later, Adams is much stronger on this point.

Halls is weakest in dealing with the application of the comparative method to adult education. He notes in his paper that "each new study, particularly in the field of adult education, where no comparative studies have as yet taken place, requires its own method". In his remarks to the Seminar, however, he tempered his statements on this point. His approach to adult education, nevertheless, is highly formalistic and traditional, both in the paper and in his remarks, and he primarily restricts his scope to the highly-industrialized, English-speaking countries. Halls also appears to be unnecessarily rigid in his strong advocacy of attempts to systematically quantify data in international adult education. (It is my opinion



that such attempts to quantify that which may not be quantifiable, may at times be premature.) Hallis concluded by emphasizing that comparative education is essentially utilitarian, and that there is no area of educational theory and practice which does not lend itself to comparative study.

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Dr. Adams did not prepare a paper, and the following summary is based on my notes from his remarks. Adams began by asking, "What is the comparative method?" He answered his own question by stating that "it is a barren field" with a "vague terminology", that "language, techniques of documentary research, and use of elements from the other social sciences is lacking", that the problem approach (e.g. Holmes) "is removed from reality", and that "methodology is usually weak and tests usually poor".

From this initial negative viewpoint, Adams proceeded to build insights into what the comparative method and comparative education could be. He asked -- "Where do you go for methodology?" Hallis also looked at this problem, but he essentially limited himself to that methodology which has developed within education or that which is easily adaptable from another discipline. Adams, on the other hand, looks to the behavioral sciences for both constructs and methodological tools to apply cross-culturally to diverse educational systems around the world. He cited as examples Foster's 1960 structural-functional study of education in Africa and Hans' historical approach. "In other fields", continued Adams, "the tools and methods are known and indices are readily available, but in education -- what are our methods and how does one measure output?"

Adams was equally abrupt with the definitional problem--"Life is too short, don't worry about definitions". He would be happy to include "intra-societal" studies of educational subsystems and area studies within his definition of comparative education, for example. "These types of studies can lead to the development of hypotheses, and the final element, in any event, is still the comparative step."

Adams admitted to a need for the ordering of data, for the development of taxonomies, and for the classification systems, citing Jules Henry's "cross-cultural outline" as very helpful to comparative educators. "These systems," noted Adams, "help us to understand what is going on in education and allow us to examine both the dynamics and the functions of an educational system."

"Structural-functionalism" also troubled Adams -- "I don't know whether it is one term or two terms, but in education, most of the comparative studies seem to be in structural terms with little functional analysis attempted." He went on to chide educators for not looking more closely, for example, at Parson's "functional imperatives" for any social system, because there is a two-way affect between a social system (including education) and its society. Structural-functional changes in social systems could also be analyzed from the standpoint of "educational differentiation," because differentiation in a society leads to more diversified social units for examination in terms of social change. Adams also mentioned "scaling techniques" (Farrell), "social indicators" (Marsh), and several other concepts which could be adapted from . . .

other disciplines for use in comparative studies. His main thrust here was for a greater recognition of inter-disciplinary studies, studies which could transcend a single discipline ("We should milk the other disciplines dry").

Adams believes that the greatest danger for educators who perform comparative studies is their excessive concern with method. This concern is misplaced -- "We should be more worried about the problem; we should be seduced by other disciplines; and we should progress by borrowing the concepts and tools of other disciplines." Adams, in effect, argued for a broad approach to comparative education, especially in a field such as adult education which is highly diversified in its cross-cultural theory and practice. He concluded by citing a new book, soon to be published by Joe Fisher of the University of California at Berkeley, which substantiates these points. The book is titled - "The Social Sciences and Comparative Education".

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Dr. Liveright was the wind-up speaker of the Seminar. He opened his remarks by noting that "although the early philosophers in adult education looked upon adult education as a vehicle for achieving social ends, today we are doing more and more about lesser and lesser problems." He then presented two chapters of the soon to be published Exeter Papers, which is a report of a 1966 international conference on comparative adult education, and materials from his current course in comparative adult education in Boston. The 1966 Exeter Conference tackled the comparative study of adult education by using a cross-cultural framework for assessing functions of adult education. Thus, the national reports which were presented at the Conference classified adult education activities under "Remedial Education"; "Education for Vocational, Technical, and Professional Competence"; "Education for Health, Welfare, and Family Living"; "Education for Civic, Political, and Community Competence"; and "Education for Self-Fulfillment." According to Liveright, the international participants in the Conference felt comfortable with these categories, although they did not feel as easy in their attempts to systematically classify the various structures which perform these functions from nation to nation.

Liveright noted that there were few international studies on participation in adult education, that there were no clear-cut institutional classifications from culture to culture, and that valid and reliable statistical data were lacking. He then presented some capsule comments from his students in the first course he offered in comparative adult education -- they wanted to leave the definitional problems to the end; they wanted to discuss the various methodological approaches to comparative studies; and they thought too much was there for a one-semester course. Liveright offered these comments as samples of student reaction to courses in comparative adult education.

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Suggestions were offered by the Seminar participants on how to increase communications on comparative adult education. These suggestions included: (a) the use of OISE's CONVERGENCE as a vehicle for communication; (b) the exchange of term papers, syllabi, proposals, and bibliographies; (c) the conducting of two-day faculty-student conferences in several areas in Canada and the U.S.; (d) the more effective use and dissemination of what has already been done in comparative adult education; and (e) the establishment of a section for comparative adult education within each of the national adult education associations.